

## **Reporting Sectarian Incidents: Examining the escalatory and de-escalatory discourses in the Pakistan News Media**

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### **Abstract**

*This study investigates the role of news media on reporting the sectarian conflict in Pakistan. The available scholarship suggests that media is a double-edge sword which can become an important tool to promote religious harmony and ease tension between the warring groups and at the same time it can escalate tension by exaggerating events and becoming mouthpiece of war-mongers. The researcher borrows key notions from peace journalism scholarship and applies it at a national setting. The quantitative and qualitative analyses reveal that the news media showed responsibility, exercised restraint and prioritized popular perspective while reporting on sectarian tension in the country. The study supports the key assertion in peace journalism that conflict escalation can be averted if journalists are sensitized about the consequences of irresponsible reporting especially in nascent democracies like Pakistan.*

**Keywords:** Peace journalism, sectarianism, sufferers, religious identities, responsibility, societal peace.

### **Introduction**

Many critical scholars of media and communication studies have found that news media have a special penchant for violence and outwardly become propagandist during national wars and conflict (e.g see Thussu & Freedman, 2003 for a detailed review of scholarship). Mainly, the researchers have found the twin determinants of pressure from government and the commercial interests of media as the key factors for the destructive role of media while reporting in conflicts (Nohresdet, 2009). The indictment of a German radio broadcaster for his involvement in crimes against peace during the second World War (Hamelink, 2008) and life imprisonments for three Rwandan journalists for inciting communal discord in 1994 (Thompson, 2007) are just few of the examples that show that journalists through irresponsible reporting inflame conflicts that often result destruction.

In Pakistan, researchers have found mixed results. While the news media appear to be nationalistic and elitist during the Taliban conflict (Hussain, 2014& 2016), it remained peace oriented while reporting on conflict in Balochistan (Hussain & Rehman, 2015). This study focuses on the reportage of sectarian conflict in Pakistan news media and would critically analyze its framing strategies to record its contribution to the conflict escalation or de-escalation. A brief discussion on the configuration of the sectarian conflict in Pakistan is presented for a fairer understating of this issue.

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### Sectarianism in Pakistan

Pakistan tops the list of Muslim countries where sectarianism is on rise. Though no authentic record is available on the casualties in this conflict, many fear that thousands of people have been killed and many more injured in the past several decades. Researcher Moonis Ahmer (2009) fears that nothing substantial has been done so far to arrest this problem which would continue gnawing at the social fabric for years to come.

Sectarianism is connected with other religious conflicts in Pakistan. In fact, the role of religion in the state affairs has always been a debatable issue (Zaman, 1998) and has spurred many other controversies. For example, after the creation of Pakistan in 1947, there were disagreements whether the country should be declared an Islamic state or a secular state, the religious reforms of first military dictator General Ayub Khan in 1960s were opposed, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had to declare Ahmedis (a small religious sect) as non-Muslims in 1970s to get popular support, military dictator General Ziaul Haq initiated Islamization policies to extend his stay in power in 1980s, and the last military dictator General Pervez Musharraf gave his vision of enlightened moderation to appease West for his political interests after the 9/11 incident. It is generally agreed that Islam as a religion is not a problem (about 97 percent are Muslims) but its implementation is problematic (Hashmi, 2009). While the Islamists present Islam an integral part of national polity, the secularists fear its implementation will promote orthodoxy and theocracy in the country. However, many believe the tension between Islamists and secularists has little to do with sectarianism (Ahmer, 2009) rather they relate it with the regional rivalry between Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran (Hashmi, 2009).

Historically in Pakistan, despite differences, the followers of both Sunni and Shia sects respected the religious beliefs of each other; both the communities participated in the religious rites of each other and mutual marriages were common (pp, 23, Abbass, 2009). It was however, the Islamization policy of military dictator General Zia ulHaq and the Shia revolution in Iran that aggravated sectarian tension (pp, 45, Abbass, 2009; Grare, 2007). Fearful of Sunni dominance and emboldened by the Iranian factor, the Shia community established Tehriq-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafriain 1979 to protect their religious rights. The community responded vehemently to the compulsory Zakat policy of Zia regime (payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charity which the Shia faith doesn't accept) and forced the government to accommodate their perspective. However, renowned religious leader Dr. Anis Ahmed (personal interview, June 2013) who remained close to Zia ulHaq told this researcher that the former dictator had nothing to do with implementation of Islam rather he was interested in prolonging his regime. According to Dr Ahmed, the Shia wanted larger political role and hence upped the ante against the Sunni groups.

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The Iranian revolution in 1979 spurred Shia-ism in Pakistan, apparently to counter Saudi influence. Through cultural consulates, provisions of scholarships to Pakistan Shia students and tacit funding (Ahmer, 2008; Zahab, 2005), Shia activism was promoted. As a reaction to the activities of Shia organizations, Sunni organizations sprung up in the Punjab province. Jamaat Ulema-e-Ahl-e-Hadith was established in 1984 followed by Sipaha Sahaba Pakistan and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. These organizations got financial assistance from Saudi Arabia and the government of the day did nothing to reign in the potential menace (Ahmer, 2009). So by 1990s, both Sunni and Shia militant outfits were engaged in carrying out sectarian attacks, killing religious leaders and worshippers of the opposite sect (Grare, 2007; Weaver, 2002).

Some researchers (Grare, 2007; Zahab, 2005) link the sectarian conflict with the overall socio-political and economic milieu. Many sectarian groups are registered like political parties and have minor political base. These groups provide political space for people who are excluded from politics due to the dominance of landlords and businessmen in the peculiar political system in Pakistan. The sectarian groups get political support from the religious seminaries (there are about 2 million seminaries in Pakistan). Though the link between sectarian violence and these seminaries has not been established (Dawn, 2012), some of them are involved in fanning sectarian hatred. The mushroom growth of these seminaries is due to the failure of the state for not providing free education and other economic necessities (Hashmi, 2009). After 9/11, General Pervez Musharraf banned six militant organizations but they resurfaced with new names and their clandestine activities are now an open secret (Abbass, 2005).

The sectarian conflict has caused irreparable damage to Pakistani society. The suicide attacks on religious places of both Sunnis and Shias have deepened sectarian divisions and pose serious threats to national security and integrity. At times, even the government functionaries have tried to exploit the conflict for political interests instead of tacking action against the culprits (Zaman, 1998).

This article discusses how the incidents of sectarianism are reported in Pakistan news media, what factors determine the nature of conflict reportage and what could be done to ensure a more constructive coverage. Citing the unpublished work of Dr. Mohammad Waseem, Ahmer (2009) believes that media in Pakistan is promoting sectarianism and he advises Pakistani journalists to practice more socially responsible journalism to curb this menace.

### **Media, Wars and Peace**

Many researchers including (Hamelink, 2008; Strauss, 2007; Keeble, 2011; Kempf, 2012; Ross, 2006; Lynch, 2006; Wolsfeld, 2004; Fawcett, 2002; Bratic, 2006) have analyzed media reporting of ethno-religious conflicts and found the coverage

escalatory, inflammatory and conducive for warmongers. They believe media have a bias towards violence due to pressures from conflicting parties and the professional requirements of media industries. According to Wolsfeld (2001) news media have a “vested interest in conflict”. Howard (2003) locates this problem in the ethos of professional journalists who are always interested in impartial reporting of conflicts but are often misguided by conflicting parties who use them for propaganda purposes. Graham Spencer (2005) opines media is not predisposed to peace because violence is ‘news’ and peace is ‘no news’. Others believe (Cottle, 2006; Galtung, 2000; Shinar 2007; Nohrsedt, 2009) war stories are newsworthy because these are dramatic, carry impact; and attract large audience.

The realization that media can be used for peace purposes is as old as the fear of its potential for inflaming conflicts. In the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Nation Radio was set by the League of Nations to promote peace and harmony in Europe. United Nations also established crisis radios in the troubled region of Africa to promote peace and tranquility (Becker, 2007). At present, there are dozens of peace media outlets to help promote peace in the troubled parts of Eastern Europe, Middle East, Africa and South Asia.

Jorg Becker (2004) while studying the role of media in conflict prevention found that journalistic ethics devised by different international organizations and code of ethics in many countries have long asserted that media should help promote peace and reconciliation. The 1976 Unesco’s declaration for media, Asean’s media-related provisions and media ethics in most of European countries call for a reconciliatory and peace-oriented media. Thomas Hanitzch (2004) believes the Asian and Islamic conventions for media are mainly peace-media centric as against the objectivity-oriented Western media. The great sub-continent leaders Mohatama Gandhi and Bacha Khan stressed on using media for peace and reconciliation. This is how Mohatama Gandhi puts the role of media in a society:

“The true function of journalism is to educate the public mind, not to stock the public mind with wanted and unwanted impressions. A journalist has, therefore, to use his discretion as to what to report and when. As it is, journalists are not content to stick to facts alone. Journalism has become the art of intelligent anticipation of events”.

### **Peace Journalism Approach**

Peace studies researcher Johan Galtung (1998) concretized the above observations in the two competitive frames of war journalism and peace journalism after a thorough analysis of conflict reporting in different countries. For him, war journalism is violence oriented, propagandist, elitist and difference oriented while peace journalism is peace-oriented, truth oriented, people oriented and solution oriented. According to Galtung (1998), peace journalism centers on stories that accentuate peace initiatives;

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attenuate ethnic and religious differences; prevent more conflict; and buoying up conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation. Such an evaluation obviously brings the working ethics of journalists into the limelight. Scholars (Galtung, 2005; Lynch, 2007; Kempf, 2003) believe media can facilitate transformation of conflicts if journalists exhibit responsibility while reporting on conflicts instead of becoming just silent spectators.

The prime concern of peace journalism is to enable all the stakeholders in a conflict to share their viewpoints (Kemp, 2005; Shinar, 2003; Ottosen, 2011). Peace journalism scholar Spencer (2005) maintains that it treads a humanistic route and provides alternatives to avoid violence. This is achieved, he adds, by provision of information that 'builds trust and confidence' and eschewing the traditional journalistic 'messy world' of breaking news and deadlines (Wolsfeld, 2004).

The concept has been criticized for its subjectivity Hanitzch (2007) and described as akin to public relations. Loyn (2007) is against the notion of peace journalism because it assumes that 'preventing conflict is everybody's job'. Liz Fawcet (2002) in her critique on peace journalism has identified various rhetorical and narrative structures inherent in journalism profession that forces journalists to take sides in a conflict. Gadi Wolsfeld (1997) believes it is the inherent contradiction between peace process and journalistic practices that impede peace journalism.

The advocates of peace journalism (Lynch, 2013 & 2014; Kempf, 2012; Shinar, 2007; Hussain 2015 & 2017) believe it is quality journalism during conflict times. Scholars of peace journalism have conducted scores of critical and empirical studies to investigate conflict reportage, issues that affect the production process and its effects on the people and at same time have come up with practical strategies to train journalists on how to constructively cover conflicts. Many of these scholars including Jake Lynch, Wilhelm Kempf and Dov Shinar agree that a shift towards peace journalism does not require an altogether departure from traditional journalism rather a subtle shift is required to focus on the people and peace and exhibit responsibility.

Based on the above scholarship, this study uses the concept of peace journalism as a theory and as a corrective media strategy to investigate the reportage of sectarian conflict in Pakistan news media. The following three questions have been derived from the relevant literature.

### **Research Questions**

RQ1. How Pakistani media report the sectarian conflict through the perspective of war or peace journalism?

RQ2. What are the important factors that influence the reportage of sectarian conflict in Pakistan?

RQ3. What are the challenges/opportunities in the implementation of peace journalism in the context of sectarian conflict in Pakistan?

### **Research methodology**

This study applies both quantitative (content analysis) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) approaches to investigate the reporting of sectarian conflict, identify the key determinants and discuss the challenges and prospects in its implementation in Pakistan.

For the content analysis part, six major news outlets (two TV channels, two English and two Urdu dailies) selected. The sample for two TV channels (Geo TV and Dunya TV), two English dailies (Dawn and Nation) and two Urdu dailies (Jang and Express) was taken for one year from November 2015 till November 2016. For the four papers, only the front and back pages were selected and for the two TV channels, the main newscast of 9 o' clock was selected. The researchers accessed the printed news bulletins from the offices of the two news channels while the newspapers were retrieved from their online websites. Only the 4-day issues and newscasts from Monday to Thursday were selected in a week.

Following the approach of peace journalism scholars like (Lee, 2010; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Hussain, 2015), the authors of this study borrowed key variables from the Galtung model of war and peace journalism (1998) and refined them to fit into the contextual milieu of journalistic culture in Pakistan. These dichotomous six variables are: compatibility/incompatibility, responsibility/sensationalism, humanization/securitization. As in Lee (2010) and Tehranian (2002), the variables compatibility, responsibility and humanization refer to peace journalism and variables incompatibility, sensationalism and securitization refer to war journalism. Initially, the researchers also introduced the neutral category alongside these three-paired categories but later it was deleted due to very frequencies. This was done to ensure that the statistical tests give more precise calculation of the data so that the findings can be extrapolated to the overall population.

All the six variables were operationalized and six students at MS level were trained in the coding scheme. Inter-coder reliability tests were conducted and the researchers got not less than 80 percent consensus for all the scores. The unit of analysis was the entire news story. Based on the operational definition of the six variables, a story was coded in either war or peace journalism on the basis of overall impression-headlines, intro and details in the story.

Similarly, for the qualitative part of this study, the researchers conducted interviews

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with 16 respondents including six journalists who had beat assignment to cover the sectarian conflicts, six editors of the selected media outlets, two analysts and one leader from both Sunni and Shia leaders to identify the socio-political and professional factors that influence media reportage of this conflict. Apart from the two analysts—Saleem Safi and Dr. Anis Ahmed, all other respondents requested anonymity and hence the authors agreed not to divulge their names. These semi-structured interviews were conducted at the respondents' offices and lasted between 50-60 minutes. The interviews were conducted in Urdu and later translated and transcribed in English by the authors themselves.

### Research findings

#### **RQ1. How Pakistani media report the sectarian conflict through the perspective of war and peace journalism?**

**Table 1: Distribution of conflict coverage in war and peace journalism**

War Journalism N (%)	Peace Journalism N (%)	Total N (%)	Chi-square	P Value
184 (22.22)	644 (77.78)	828(100)	91.52	0.000

The first hypothesis embedded in this question states that news media will show restraint and cover the conflict in a de-escalatory tone. As the above table shows, the conflict is predominantly covered in peace journalism mode as indicated by the low Pearson Chi-square value (.00). This is in line with the observations of reporters and editors who underlined the importance of 'caution in reporting this conflict' as irresponsible reporting could lead to further tension between the two sects. A reporter from daily Dawn recalled how sectarian tension in Karachi was fuelled when a minor incident in the Khyber Pakhttonhwa was reported in disproportionate way. The stakeholders involved in this conflict appreciated the role of media 'for being responsible' and strongly advocated peace media. These observations are in line with views of peace journalism scholars (Kemp, 2007; Lynch; 2014; Galtung, 2005; Shinar, 2006; Manoff, 2006; Hussain & Rehman, 2015) who believe if journalists are sensitized about the consequences of their reporting, conflict escalation can be prevented.

**Table 2: Thematic emphasis in conflict reporting**

Conflicts	Escalation	N (%)	De-Escalation	N (%)
Sectarian	Incompatibility	113(14)	Compatible	92(11)
	Sensationalism	71(9)	Responsible*	279(34)
	Securitization	131(16)	Humanization	142(17)

\*Chi Square 34.08 P Value .031

The second embedded hypothesis suggests that media will mainly focus on the responsible theme in this conflict against all other competitive themes. As shown in the table, the responsibility category got more stories (34%) than any other theme (Chi Square: 34.08; p 0.081). The reporters and editors said they were concerned about the menace of sectarianism and showed restraint. “I am aware of the dangers of irresponsible reporting and avoid it even if professional objectivity demands it” said one reporter. The religious leaders agreed media could help resolve the burgeoning sectarianism if the underlying causes were given extensive focus and politicians pressured to play their due role. However, they were apprehensive that sometimes media glorified the sectarian incidents. Media analyst Saleem Safi agreed that Pakistan new media reporting was responsibly reporting this conflict but added that other important issues like the sectarian groups, their modus operandi, their interests and financiers were never discussed. The reporters and editors presented a number of reasons for this including threats from sectarian groups, problems in getting information and most importantly fears of being dubbed as partial in this conflict by favoring one group over another. Peace journalism scholarship calls for taking calculated risk so that conflicts are extensively covered and people are offered opportunities to know all the important issues in a conflict, which the scholars believe would facilitate conflict resolution process (Spencer, 2005; Ross 2006; Howard, 2003).



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**Table 3: Inter-media differences in conflict reporting**

Dominant theme	Geo N (%)	Dunya N (%)	Dawn N (%)	Natio n N (%)	Express N (%)	Jang N (%)	Chi square	P Value
Responsibility	45(30)	28(26)	62(40)	50(32)	46(35)	48(40)	4.23	0.070

The third embedded hypothesis conjectured that the six news media outlets would predominantly cover the conflict from similar perspective. As indicated in the above table, the notion of responsibility emerged as the single dominant perspective (chi-square: 4.23; p: 0.071). The reporters and editors of these organizations said that they always exhorted representatives of these sectarian groups to eschew violence whenever they had chance to talk to them. This is an excellent example of peace journalism where journalists wary of escalation, actively engage in peace overtures by assuming the role of peacemakers. According to Etyan Gilboa (2006), journalists engaging in peace mediation do not cease to be professionals rather they are in better position to constructively report events.

### **RQ2. What are the important factors that influence the reportage of sectarian conflict in Pakistan?**

After intensive interviews with reporters, editors, analysts and religious leaders, a number of key factors were identified including the influence of personal views, security threats and social responsibility that determine media reporting of this conflict.

Though usually journalists do not confess the influence of personal opinions on news content while performing professional journalistic duties, however, in this case, they confessed their reporting was influenced to varying degrees. They said they were concerned about the lives of innocent people who were killed in the name of sect. They were mindful of the crucial role of media in this conflict and avoided inflammatory remarks by sectarian leaders. They told the authors that they prioritized the issues of sufferers in this conflict to sensitize society about the enormity of the situation. A reporter from daily Express said they were not concerned about journalistic objectivity as sometime it can escalate tension among rival groups. "As a reporter, we judge our performances and the best strategy is to do self-censorship," he remarked. Other reporters expressed almost same sentiments when asked about the influence of personal views while reporting this conflict. They said it was a grave injustice to kill someone in the name of a sect and expressed commitment that they would play their due role to stem sectarian violence in the country.

Secondly, the reporters expressed concerns about the insecurity associated with this assignment. They said investigative reporting was not possible on issues like training camps, recruiting process and the sources from where these sectarian groups were getting finances. The editors were concerned about the ‘unseen forces’ that have killed journalists and obstructed impartial reporting of this conflict. However, despite odds, the reporters were conscious of their role and showed restraint and responsibility. The notion of objectivity though despised by peace journalism scholars (Lynch, 2007; Peleg, 2007; Hackett, 2010), still remains the backbone of professional journalism. However, reporters covering the sectarian conflict maintained that responsible reporting and not objective was need of the hour. They said sectarianism was a very touchy issue and reporters needed to avoid reporting events that could inflame sectarian violence. A reporter with Geo said, “If we go irresponsible, a single event reported here could lead to escalation in some other part of the country”.

The most laudable aspect of media reporting of the sectarian conflict in Pakistan is the prioritization of popular perspective. “We share our grief with them and sensitize the audience about the injustices and excesses made in our society,” a reporter said. Another reporter said, “We know common people have to bear the brunt in this conflict and hence we highlight their issues and problems”. A reporter from daily Dawn said, “we share our grief with the victims and pressurize policymakers to take corrective measures whenever sectarian incidents take place in our country”. A reporter from the daily Nation said “Stories of common people always give us human interests stories which are professionally considered very important”. Researchers like Lynch (2008) and Koo (2009) have found sufficient evidence that dominance of popular accounts in media discourse significantly contribute to de-escalation of conflicts.

**RQ3. What are the challenges and opportunities in the implementation of peace journalism in the context of sectarian conflict in Pakistan?**

As discussed in the content analysis part of the study, the conflict is predominantly reported in peace journalism fashion. When journalists were asked about the avoidance of labels and other normal journalistic practices, they said it was necessary for maintenance of peace in society. A reporter from daily Express said, “We avoid things that can inflame sectarian tension even if these are professionally permissible”. An editor of an English daily maintained, “Ethics and responsibility must be the supreme ideals in this conflict because in past, it has happened that antagonists have taken advantage of irresponsible reporting.” Likewise, an editor of a TV channel said, “We do not reveal the sects of people to decrease chances of escalation even though we know that readers would become aware of it in few days”.

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Another important aspect of peace journalism in the reporting of this conflict is the focus on the issues of common people. The daily Express reported how common people have been affected by the continuing sectarian conflict in Gilgit-Baltistan. The report mentioned foodstuffs were in short supply due to curfew, people in need medications were unattended, schools were closed, foreign tourists were blocked and communication severed. Dunya TV conducted special transmission during a sectarian incident in Quetta and highlighted how disruption in communication, closing of shops, markets and educational institutions and a host of other issues have made life difficult for common people in the area. This is a good example of media focusing on the humanitarian perspective of conflict. The editors said this all was done as a editorial conscious strategy to create awareness against the scourge of sectarianism in the country. A reporter from Geo TV said, "I think, best reporting of sectarian conflict is to focus on the problems of the people suffering from this malaise".

An excellent example to promote religious peace and harmony in the country are the series of conferences and seminars arranged by media houses. The daily Jang arranged a forum where scholars belonging to different sects were invited. The newspaper duly highlighted the proceedings of the seminar where the religious scholars were reported to have unanimity in their views that the sectarian differences are 'only created' and had no basis. "If the religious scholars focus on the teachings of Islam, the schism will wither away," the report said. It exhorted religious leaders to shun chauvinism and work for sectarian peace and harmony in the country.

However, there are certain issues that decrease the scope of peace journalism in the reporting of this conflict. First, detailed reporting of the conflict is missing from the news media discourse. The issues of presence of the sectarian groups, their training camps, finances, interests, links with foreign policy, the politics on the war on terror and the dubious roles of both Iran and Saudi Arabia are rarely mentioned. It is essential that people are educated about all these issues when sectarian events are reported. Peace journalism contextualize conflict scenario and uncover truth on all sides (Galtung, 2006). Secondly, looking at the enormity of the problem, media needs to highlight the menace of sectarianism at all times. at present, Pakistan news media only report on this conflict when some sectarian events occur. The media should enlighten public about the enormity of sectarian conflict instead of just sporadic reporting.

## **Conclusion**

This study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods to critically analyze the Pakistan news media reporting of sectarian conflict. Broadly, it can be deduced from this study that the media showed social responsibility and avoided exacerbating the conflict. These findings challenge the certain important conclusions by other

researchers who have found that media role is always inflammatory during wars and conflicts (Galtung, 2002; Fawcett, 2002, Lynch, 2014; Shinar 2007, Ottosen, 2008; Ross, 2008). Alongside the social responsibility perspective, another possible explanation for this trend may be the fear of being dubbed as partial in this conflict. Sectarianism is a very sensitive issue in Pakistan and any waywardness can be disastrous for the society as well as for the media industry. Media is a lucrative business in Pakistan (Hussain, 2015) and the owners have invested billions of rupees in the sector. The media managers fear that popular boycott or government sanctions could damage their commercial interests.

In this study the authors found that consistent with the provisions of peace journalism, media downplayed the conflict by not revealing the sects of victims and perpetrators. It shared grief and sorrow over the sectarian incidents and pressed governed for stern action against the culprits. The reporters did it voluntarily to maintain peace and tranquility in society. More importantly, media sympathize with the victims and reported in detail about the sufferers that how they were coping with the situation. Usually peace journalism is criticized for failing to cater to market needs due to lack of drama and sensation in its discourse. However, as suggested by Jake Lynch (2008) peace journalism can really evolve into a profitable practice by producing human interests stories.

Excellent examples to promote religious harmony are the forums organized by media outlets where scholars of different sects are invited and ways and means explored for sectarian harmony. Elsewhere, researchers have found support for peace journalism practices (Kempf, 2003; Galtung & Lynch, 2010) and this could not be different in Pakistan. however, the authors recommend a popular survey on the practices of peace journalism in the Pakistani settings to substantiate this claim. This study supports the arguments of the scholars on conflict communication (Hanitzch, 2004; Tehranian, 2002) that the theory of peace journalism has more potential to be practiced at national level, much against the predominant scholarship that come from the studies conducted at the international level.

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